

The Arts 123

And when the revolution came he produced for the Haitian armies knives, gun parts, and wheels to transport cannon. By the tens of thousands he made ingeniously devised metal objects to be thrown on the roads, before the French cavalry troops—objects shaped that, no matter how they fell, a single sharp point stood erect to cripple the enemy horses. Yet knowledge of the West African uses of iron did not altogether disappear, and during the first century of independence the Haitian blacksmith created many old-style knives, spears, and ritual objects for the cult temple.

Even today, some of this old-style work is to be found in houses in the southwestern peninsula. One may see simple or ornate iron standards, made to support ceremonial offerings or candles, strikingly similar to standards in ancestral shrines in Dahomey. There are iron bells, both single and double, made in pure West African style; ornate ritual swords and sabres which are the crests of certain deities; coiled and uncoiled iron serpents representing the gods Damballa and Ayida; and stylized or semirealist portraits of the deities. Many of these old pieces are nineteenth-century survivals; others have been forged within the past decade.²

An over-all impression of Haitian material culture is that artistic decoration is almost entirely absent and that the prime emphasis is on utility. Wooden cooking spoons are efficient in form, but missing from them is the delicate decorative carving often found in West Africa. The long wooden washing bowl, or *gawolle*, and the wooden mortar in which grain is pulverized are likewise clean-cut but stark and plainly utilitarian. Clay bowls, bottles, and storage jars are usually of simple uniform design, with only accidental variations; there is little use of glazes, and the clay is often heavy and thick. Should there be a war-garage in the peasant hut, the chances are that it is roughly made without legs or carved designs. Dugout canoes are usually crude in appearance, heavy and thick-walled, and irregular in form.

Yet there are many evidences—though one must seek them out—that esthetic impulses are quite alive. The gay peasant straw knapsack, or *afar*, without which no mountain man makes a journey, has a charm and grace that is not diminished by familiarity and cheapness. Decorated with oval braid and tangles, and colored with green and magenta dyes, each *afar* on close inspection appears to be unique. In some communities in the south and southwest, burlap squares also are painted with these traditional dyes. About forty inches across, and made of sugar bags, these paintings swarm with geometric patterns and sometimes with figures of flowers and animals. They are purely decorative, being

² [See plates 42-51, pp. 112-DD—112-FF.--Analyst]

THE FORMATIVE YEARS, 1804-1843

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175 The result was entirely different from Boyer's expectations. As a
 114 French critic graphically puts it, the Haitians

703 who had never had more than a borrowed energy—that inspired by fear of
 French invasion—when they saw themselves freed, by a solemn treaty,
 from all attack on their coast, seemed to allow their arms to drop relaxed
 at their sides, saying, *Let's take a rest*. The soldier who up till now had
 squeezed his body into a uniform and had subjected himself to European
 discipline, shouldering his arms, staring straight ahead as if seeing nothing,
 now began to leave unbuttoned the uniform which choked him, dragged a
 mattress into his sentry-box so that he might sleep through his watch, and
 let his cross slip to the earth never to pick it up again.⁴⁴

175 In short, the Haitian army as a disciplined force ceased to exist, and
 701 with it all authority of its officers. Boyer had counted upon the
 703 army to enforce the provisions of the Code Rural, but now a soldier's
 671 life was a paid sinecure. By gaining political security Haiti had in-
 433 advertently lost its last chance of economic prosperity through a
 system of forced labor.

175 Wherever the Code was put into partial operation, revenue from
 423 plantations continued to decline. The price of real estate dropped
 433 proportionately. It was a simple matter for workmen who had
 435 signed contracts to avoid carrying out their stipulations, and just as
 446 simple to evade the law requiring fifteen acres' minimum for a single
 holding. Practically every Haitian wanted to own a bit of land; once
 he had acquired his bit, however small, he had (or so he felt) earned
 an exemption from directed labor.

175 Only on estates near the few big towns, where government
 671 officials were concentrated, was there much pretense of trying to
 625 enforce the Code. Sentries at the gates of Port-au-Prince were
 661 authorized to confiscate plantains, yams, or fruit brought by any
 worker who, in contravention of the Code, had strayed to market on
 a forbidden day, but sentries soon acquired the habit of not seeing
 countryfolk who passed the gates. Reports kept cropping up that
 rural policemen were robbing poor cultivators of their coffee under
 pretense of protecting them from the penalties for breach of the
 law; this suggests that the Code was used rather for graft than for
 the stimulation of agriculture.

175 By and large, however, the Code was tacitly ignored. Agents
 671 could not be found who were willing to stand in any community

44. *L'opérateur de Saint-Denis, Saint-Denis, R. 181.*

THE HAITIAN PEOPLE

175 against almost unanimous public opinion opposing enforcement. In
 671 1828 it was reported that dancing, which the Code had strictly
 625 limited to week ends, was a nightly diversion near the capital. One
 535 of the principal dancing resorts was the house of a captain of rural
 517 police, the very man who was supposed to repress such amusements.⁴⁰

175 Boyer had done his best, and his best was merely a good piece of
 178 office work. When his Code failed to operate, he could think of
 24 nothing further to suggest for the economic rehabilitation of Haiti.
 433 The last fifteen years of his administration witnessed a gradual lapse
 into that small-scale farming which was to be characteristic of Haiti
 for the remainder of the nineteenth century. By comparison with
 former standards, production and steady industry had both fallen
 off since Boyer came to the presidency. The testimony of visiting
 foreigners is unanimous on the decline of industry.

175 The British consul, Mackenzie, said in 1827 that there was very
 174 little field labor then being done, and that only elderly people,
 435 principally aged "Guinea Negroes" long accustomed to steady work,
 461 carried on the tradition. No measures of the government could
 464 induce young people born in Haiti to labor or to change from their
 184 "habitual vagrancy."⁴¹ Another Englishman, James Franklin, re-
 marked in 1828 that land values throughout the republic had greatly
 declined because no one could make a profit within any moderate
 time. Labor was high, he writes, for ordinary wages did not attract
 the workers who preferred idleness. (This word is certainly unfair:
 it was work at their own bidding which they preferred, not idleness.)
 Government lands lay untilled, no one evincing the slightest desire
 to purchase or utilize them. Franklin continues:

114 Land also in the possession of individuals is similarly circumstanced; and
 175 those who are large proprietors cannot effect a sale of any produce which
 433 they may have beyond the quantity which they consume; consequently
 423 a proprietor may have an immense extent of land, and yet be quite unable
 425 to derive any benefit from it by cultivation, or to convert it into money,
 for the want of purchasers. Thus . . . there is no individual wealth in the
 country, because, although a man may have very large landed possessions,
 still those possessions are unavailable, for they produce him nothing, as he
 can sell his produce at a very low price, or he may be obliged to destroy it.
 531 42. Although dancing is spoken of here as an amusement, it is highly probable that
 at least a part of it had connections with the Vodun religion.

531 43. Charles Mackenzie, *Notes on Hayti* (London, 1830), I, 100. Mackenzie is clearly
 531 exaggerating, unless by "field labor" he means work on plantations, in contrast to
 farming on small plots.